Cultural Clues Revealed through Environmental Reaction

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Abstract

The issue of animal cruelty in the greater sphere of environmental problems has often at times had the power to bring people, communities and even nations together in an effort to change the dynamics of a most negative aspect of our increasingly complex relationship with the natural world. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on two separate issues in Asia regarding animal welfare: their exploitation and the negative environmental impact. In particular, I will look at recent events concerning the poaching of the Tibetan antelope, an animal indigenous to the Tibetan plateau of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the coastal whaling of cetaceans (dolphins and other small whales) centered in Taiji village, Wakayama prefecture, Japan. Two motion pictures, the 2004 Chinese-produced film *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* set in Tibet, and the 2009 American-produced film *The Cove* focusing on the village of Taiji, Japan, are the primary resources for this paper. Secondary sources, including film reviews, interviews and newspaper articles, are intended to give the reader some background as to the reception these two films received in their respective countries and to what extent these films have influenced the response to these issues. Additionally, a class survey was conducted in order to gage university-level students' attitudes concerning the consumption of particular animals, and also towards their feelings about animal welfare. The general perception of Japan, as a democratic, free and open society, and of China, as a closed, regulated and controlled society, has helped create a misperception that underlies the inability for us, the lay observer, to truly understand the cultural identities of these two geopolitically important nations. The traditional views of Japan and China reveal a surprising revelation when we take into consideration these two environmental issues and the reaction and the response of their citizens. As we will see, these reactions are not just an anomaly, but rather, a more honest representation of these two countries' cultural norms when put to the ultimate test.

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The Tibetan Antelope of Kekexili

The region of "Kekexili" meaning *Blue Ridge* in Chinese, and affectionately known to the Tibetan people, as the "*Land of Beautiful Mountains and Beautiful Maidens*", spans some 45,000 square kilometers, at an average elevation of 4,800 meters. Located in Yushu Tibet Autonomous prefecture in Southwest Qinghai, Kekexili was designated a national nature reserve by the government of the People's Republic of China in December of 1996. Home to several hundred species of wild animal, the high grassland areas also support the largest concentrations of the Tibetan antelope, known as *chiru* in the Tibetan language- the animal holds a sacred position in Tibetan culture and is also highly prized by poachers for its luxurious wool undercoat.

Renowned wildlife biologist and environmental conservationist George Schaller of the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS)- a US based non-profit organization, has been actively involved in the study and conservation of the Tibetan antelope and other species of the Tibetan plateau since 1985 (Handwerk, 2006). In fact, it was his personal field surveys of the Tibetan Plateau on behalf of the Chinese government and his subsequent research that revealed that massive poaching of the Tibetan antelope had nearly wiped the species out (World Conservation Society, 2013). According to his personal accounts, "Brutal poaching practices, such as machine-gunning the antelope at night during their calving season, have slashed *chiru* numbers dramatically" (Handwerk, 2006). As a direct result of his findings, the "Chinese government established the Chang Tang Nature Reserve (in 1993), and further studies by WCS led the government to create the adjacent West Kunlun Reserve (in 2001) to protect *chiru* breeding grounds" (WCS, 2013).

In an August 29th, 2000 Los Angeles Times article, writer Ching-Ching Ni describes in horrifying detail the poaching of the Tibetan antelope:

> "Night falls. Headlights blaze. Hundreds of Tibetan antelopes, many of them pregnant, gallop toward the deathtrap. Shots echo. Animals shriek. Dust turns pink. The poachers drive off. A skinned antelope wakes up dripping blood, scurries a few steps, collapses. Next day. Baby antelopes cling to life, nursing on the cold breasts of mothers killed for their fur."

As we continue to try and understand exactly why this unnecessary slaughter takes place, we learn that underlying the whole blood bath is an animal's undercoat made into *shahtoosh* shawls and scarves, that although illegal, command huge prices on the international market, and a people desperate enough to commit crimes for decent pay (Ni, 2000). While conservationist George Schaller's work on the Tibetan Plateau was crucial in helping to establish the Chang Tang Nature Reserve in 1993, the poaching of the animals would not end; rather, the wanton killing of these creatures would continue unabated, as there was simply nothing in place, outside of a reserve designation, to put a stop to the illegal activity.

Captain Suonandajie and the Wild Yak Brigade

It was in 1992, that a local Tibetan and former Tibetan army captain by the name of Suonandajie, in an effort to confront the poachers, led an all volunteer crew of like-minded and committed local Tibetans, including some Chinese nationals, into the uninhabited region of the Tibetan Plateau known as Kekexili. His group known as the "Wild Yak Brigade" would take the fight directly to the poachers. Incidentally, it was the ongoing illegal gold and mineral mining in the region that first inspired Suonandajie to commit to the fight (Ni, 2000).

Since the 1980s tens of thousands of people had entered the region looking for gold and other precious minerals. As writer Ni explains, "The gold rush that began in the 1980s was like a plague of locusts on these vistas that had been left undisturbed for many millenniums. In a flash, riverbeds were sifted dry, rare animals were slain for food" (Ni, 2000).

When dreams of easy gold and riches did not pan out, for some the lure of slaughtering herds of Tibetan antelopes, where one pelt fetched around $100, was easy game. It was estimated that during the 1990s at the height of the poaching some 20,000 animals were killed each year. In the winter of 1996, the Wild Yak Brigade leader Suonandajie, and four of his men, arrested some 20 poachers and seized nearly 800 Tibetan antelope pelts. During the long road back to civilization, the poachers were able to overpower the men, and Wild Yak Brigade founder and leader, Suonandajie, was shot dead and his body dumped. Two weeks later his corpse was found frozen on the windswept plains of the Tibetan Plateau (Ni, 2000).

The event would mark a turning point in the struggle to resist the poachers, as leader Suonandajie's death inspired a new legion of followers. One of his friends, a man named Xin Yang, who was also a nature photographer, would found Green River -- one of the very first non-governmental environmental organizations in China. Along with Beijing's Friends of Nature, both organizations worked to "raise awareness through public workshops and write-in campaigns to politicians, including Tony Blair" (Larson, 2012). Mr. Xin Yang explained further, "At that time, China had just begun to have NGOs and the public had just begun to feel concern [for] wildlife… We also wrote a lot of letters to business people in America. The women never knew that their shawl killed three to four antelopes" (Larson, 2012). Although the Chinese government was known to take a strong hand against citizen led movements, the Tibetan antelope cause was one of the few instances that brought about a significant and protracted response from the government. "Enhancing law-enforcement (i.e. cracking down on illegal poaching) was a cause that Beijing found it could embrace, after the activists successfully thrust the animal's plight into the national conversation" (Larson, 2011).

Due to the growing notoriety of the Wild Yak Brigade, the Chinese government recruited, trained and funded an official "rival" group outside of the Wild Yak Brigade to combat the poachers. But according to members of the Wild Yak Brigade, "the well-financed rookies patrolled just once in three years." The reward was anything but financial for the members of the Wild Yak Brigade, though; according to writer Ni, "of the 32 men" in the Wild Yak Brigade at the time of the article's publication in August of 2000,

"only eight make between $85 to $146 a month. The rest are temporary workers drawing a pitiful $32 a month" (Ni, 2000).

In fact, the Wild Yak Brigade has been the subject of controversy as they, their efforts aside, have freely admitted, have had to at times sell the confiscated antelope pelts in order to fund their activities. But as a Wild Yak member explained: "If the government guaranteed our funding, we would never have done such a thing. That was when we first got started. We had nothing. We sold 20% of what we caught so we could protect the 80% that still faced death. We don't do it anymore--why do they keep mentioning it?" (Ni, 2000).

Kekexili: Mountain Patrol **(2004) Reaches the Chinese Public**

Chinese director Lu Chuan, during an interview about his film *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* provided some background as to what drove him to make the film:

> "*Actually for me, the story wasn't so much about the animal (the Tibetan Antelope). It was about human nature. I remember reading about it in the newspapers about 1998 or 1999. The report was about the entire history of this mountain patrol, from the founding of the team to the eventual disbanding by the government- the whole thing. I was so shocked, because they devoted almost everything to their roles – even their lives – for something they believed in, only to get nothing in return. I thought it could make a perfect movie, but I wanted to make it for them. I wanted to tell their story*" (Heskins, 2006).

As a grass-roots effort by environmentalists and young people on college campuses helped create a new wave of activism for the welfare of the environment, it was with the release of the Chinese film *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* in 2004 by a young, up and coming Chinese director named Lu Chuan that brought this issue to the forefront of the Chinese public's awareness. Similar to the story of the Wild Yak Brigade, the film itself would find it difficult going in trying to reach the eyes and ears, and

ultimately the heartstrings of the greater public.

According to the Internet site, Box Office Mojo, the Chinese mainland box office numbers for *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* were a mere $143,383 shown on a total of 11 screens. The film did get released in the United Kingdom but brought in a paltry $26,460 for a grand total of some $169,843. When the film was awarded best picture at the 41st Annual Taiwan Golden Horse Awards, it became the very first Mainland Chinese produced film to receive such an honor. A prestigious film honor notwithstanding, how could this film, with dismal box office receipts, little exposure, and no government support, go on to ignite a national conversation?

Kekexili: Mountain Patrol director Lu Chuan, talked about how his movie, having been seen by so few- when looking at the box office statistics- would go on to become something of a sensation in China:

> "Before piracy, many people in China don't see good films; now because of it, their tastes get refined. There are also very active effects; free P.R. - like the Internet, you have to let people use it for free before you collect money. Secondly, for us filmmakers, we don't have the same kind of access to information; now, via piracy, we can see high quality classic films -- filmmakers need to be able to see films. So this is good. Another unique facet: young filmmakers can't get their films into cineplexes, but with piracy, there's wider circulation and reputations can be built. With "Kekexili", last year in China, it was number one in DVD sales -- but a lot of this was accomplished through piracy, so production lost a lot of revenue. Still, I think piracy needs to gradually be abolished" (Hu, et all, 2005).

Even the movie industry itself, albeit under government control, tried to reign in the movie as director Lu Chuan, shared: "The distributors showed little faith in it – they released it alongside a blockbuster, choosing to show it at unpopular times like 9am and 11pm. Yet that didn't dent its popularity, the film found a much larger audience in China on TV movie channels and DVD" (Heskins, 2006).

The miraculous part of this is that the film was ever released in China in the first place. Although, director Lu Chuan explains that things are gradually opening up:

> "Maybe five years ago China had strict censorship, but more recently, in the last few years, the censorship has become looser. So a film like Kekexili can be shown in China and released overseas. I think the Film Bureau in China is changing their policy. Yes, I guess in some ways they have been conservative, but economy can change everything" (Heskins, 2006).

And as the country was gearing up for the biggest international event in its modern history, in a rather incredible turn of events, the Chinese government selected the Tibetan antelope as one of the official mascots for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, alongside other classic symbols of Chinese nature and mythology, the panda bear and the monkey king.

Whether the Tibetan antelope remains a member of the pantheon of Chinese pride remains to be seen, but for certain, as this ancient song of Tibet reminds all, the Tibetan people and the wildlife and nature they so cherish, indeed, life itself, *will* go on:

> "*The Center of Heaven, the core of the earth, this heart of the world, fenced round by snow. The headland of all rivers, where the mountains are high and the land is pure. O' Country so good, where men are born sages and heroes, to this land of horses ever more speedy, choosing it for its qualities, he came here."*

The Cove **(2009)**

In March of 2010, the American-produced film *The Cove* won the 2009 Academy Award for best documentary (Tabuchi, 2010). The film also went on to win many awards around the world (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009). Just prior to its release in Japan in late spring/early summer of 2010, due to pressure

from right wing groups protesting the film's negative portrayal of a "Japanese tradition", the film was cancelled for release in every one of the domestic theaters set to screen it (Tabuchi, 2010).

The filmmakers introduce us to the horrors of the dolphin and large whale industry where since the 1960s, beginning in the United States, the entertainment value of dolphins, and other cetaceans like the popular Orca whale (killer whale), has become a booming industry (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009). In the West, the dolphin and large whale industry has come under increasing pressure from environmental groups and activists and from ordinary citizens who are increasingly becoming aware of the cruelty and inhumanity that exists within this industry and the zoos, aquariums, and related programs (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

In a rally outside the Yokohama New Theatre in the early summer of 2010, a well-organized group of about fifty Japanese far right protesters sought to block the showing of the film. "If you have any pride in your nation, do not show this film," the leader of the group shouted through his loudspeakers. "Will you poison Japan's soul?" Later it was announced by Yoshiyuki Hasegawa, manager of the Yokohama New Theatre, that he had to cancel the screenings of the film due to the pressure from these right wing groups. He went on to explain his reason for the cancellation: "Of course it upsets me, but I must consider the trouble it would bring to my neighbors". The pressure was so intense that more than 20 private theaters throughout Japan cancelled screenings of the film. In fact, as of the June 2010 publication of the article, not one theater in Japan was screening the film (Tabuchi, 2010).

As the industry continues to expand, especially in Asia, *The Cove* focuses its attention on the Japanese dolphin and large whale industry. Known as "*Oikomi*" or dolphin drive hunting, a program that is overseen by the Japanese government's Fisheries Agency, allows for the capture and killing of up to 21,000 wild dolphins and around 100 wild whales every year for commercial purposes (Fackler, 2008).

In Japan, the coastal whaling of dolphins, and other whales, is undertaken annually in the eight prefectures of Hokkaido, Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Chiba, Shizuoka, Wakayama, and Okinawa under the

authorization of Japan's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and directed by Japan's Fisheries Agency. *The Cove* documents the activities in the small fishing village of Taiji in Wakayama prefecture where every year beginning on September 1st and lasting until the following March, wild dolphins are chased and captured in the open sea, then herded back to the small bay of Hatagiri in Taiji village (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

Over the course of the Taiji Village hunting season, it is estimated that more than 2,000 dolphins are captured in the yearly hunts, where almost all are then slaughtered for their meat to be sold and consumed by the public (Fackler, 2008). The village of Taiji, in particular, is at the very center of what is known as *the Dolphin Trade* (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

Every season, a small number of "high quality" young females are separated and sold at around $150,000 per dolphin, with the deals being brokered through the Taiji Whale Museum and Aquarium, to officials and trainers from any number of aquariums and sea parks in Japan, around Asia, and elsewhere in the world to perform as "show" dolphins. Taiji village has quickly become the largest supplier of show dolphins in the world (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

The true horror of Taiji village is what the local fishing industry does with the majority of dolphins that do not qualify as the best of the best. Confined in a small area of the bay for any number of days the dolphins, including calves, grow incredibly stressed and tired. Slowly herded into a hidden cove area of the small bay, where no one can see and absolutely no one, outside of the operation, is allowed to enter, the dolphins are harpooned to death, turning the cove bloodred (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

For around $600 a dolphin, the meat is sold to local markets as dolphin meat, and is even distributed to local school districts for free for use in school lunches, and on to national markets often mislabeled as whale meat (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

The International Whaling Commission (IWC) outlawed commercial whaling in 1986, but Japan, with

support from many small nations with no connection to whaling, has been able to hunt for large whales in the open ocean in the name of "scientific research". The whale meat is then sold in Japan's fish markets, grocery stores and in high-end restaurants as a specialty food (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

The film points out that the Japanese government views large whales as "pests" and also small whales, like the dolphin, which are not guaranteed protection under current IWC rules (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009). Therefore, one of the benefits of the dolphin drive hunts, and whaling for "scientific research" is to kill large numbers of dolphins, and large whales because they eat large numbers of small fish, like minnows (sardines) and krill shrimp that are fed upon by larger fish species like tuna, sea bass, and salmon, which Japanese people sell and also consume in enormous quantities. In fact, Japan consumes around eighty percent of the world's supply of Bluefin tuna (Johnston, 2010). These consumption rates have helped reduce the population of Western Atlantic Bluefin tuna by eighty-two percent between 1957 and 2007, and the Eastern Atlantic Bluefin population by seventy-four percent (Johnston, 2010). Due in part to the over consumption of certain species of fish, such as the Bluefin tuna, the Japanese Fisheries Agency has been focusing on large whale and dolphin meat as a food source to compensate for the reduction in the other food source (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

A major point in the film is the scientific fact that large whales, small whales like dolphins, and other top ocean predators such as sharks feed at the very top of the ocean food chain and these animals in particular are filled with unhealthy levels of toxic chemicals, most notably that of mercury, that are harmful to humans if consumed as a part of a regular diet (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009). High levels of mercury if consumed over a long period of time are known to cause "birth defects, brain damage, and death" (Fackler, 2008).

Tetsuya Endo, a professor at the Health Sciences University of Hokkaido, Japan, an expert on mercury in sea animals, states: "There is a real danger in whale and dolphin meat, but word is not getting out". Professor Endo, who has conducted ongoing research on toxic chemicals in whale and dolphin meat from around Japan, explained some of his eye-opening research: "In dolphin and pilot whale I have

typically found mercury levels ranging from 10 to 100 parts a million, far above the Japanese government's advisory level of 0.4 part a million". Professor Endo said that the most highly contaminated meat, at 2,000 parts a million, was found in the internal organs of a pilot whale that was bought from a local supermarket in Taiji village (Fackler, 2008).

It is estimated that over the past 20 years, some 400,000 dolphins have been slaughtered in Japan's coastal whaling program (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009). Many Japanese are unaware that dolphin hunts take place, even though those involved in it, argue that it is an important part of Japanese tradition (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

Former dolphin and Orca trainer and longtime activist, Ric O'Barry, who figures prominently in *The Cove*, expressed his utter dissatisfaction with Japan's ongoing policies of hypocrisy on the ocean environment: "Japan's government has no moral authority on biodiversity issues. The Fisheries Agency's actions on dolphins, whales and Bluefin tuna, seriously undermine science-based management and international accords to protect marine life" (Johnston, 2010).

The Japanese Public on Whaling

In a 2012 article titled "World Still Waits for Japan to Stop Being Apathetic about Whaling," author and editor of New Scientist magazine, Rowan Hooper writes about the issue of whaling in Japan: "Fisheries Agency officials and advocates of Japan's right to hunt whales always point to Japan's 'tradition' of whaling, as if that validates it… "Modern whaling only started in Japan about 100 years ago, when Juro Oka founded Nihon Enyo Gyogyo K.K. (eventually renamed Hogei K.K)" (Hooper, 2012).

Hooper's article also brings to our attention the Japanese public's perception of the government's sponsored hunt for whales in the open ocean:

> "In a survey of 1,200 Japanese people across the country, conducted in October 2012 by the Nippon Research Center, more people supported the hunting of whales than opposed it. Of those aged between 15 and 79, 26.8 percent said Japan should continue hunting whales; while 18.5 percent said it should stop. It seems the government, which has said it expects to go ahead with this year's Southern Ocean whale hunt, has a mandate for its actions" (Hooper, 2012).

Hooper makes a startling observation: "But hang on: What about the 54.7 percent of respondents to the survey who said they had "no opinion" on the matter?" (Hooper, 2012). So, what about that 54.7%--that's effectively twice as many who said they support it, but with absolutely no opinion, on this matter of great importance -- or is it even a matter of importance for the average Japanese?

Stubbornly so, Japan's official policy of whaling for large whales in the open ocean in the name of "scientific research" and the coastal whaling for dolphins in the name of "tradition" is clearly alive and well. Just this past September 1st, Japan officially opened its annual dolphin hunt drive season. And in of all places, the *Japan Times* reported that, "nationalists in Taiji (Taiji village) used loudspeakers to broadcast their message about the right to kill dolphins, and held a barbeque, presumably of whale or dolphin meat, at the cove" (Kageyama, 2013).

College Student Survey in Japan

Since 2010, I have taught a course here in Japan titled, "Environmental Issues & Our Planet Earth" at Mie University in Tsu city, Mie prefecture. In this class, my students view both films, *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* and *The Cove* in an effort to bring to the forefront these two environmental issues originating from Asia, and the stories behind them.

As part of the class this past summer (2013) session, and just prior to viewing the film, *The Cove*, I asked all fifteen of my students (of which seven were foreign students) to fill in a simple survey that I

designed in order to gage their feelings and attitudes towards personal food habits and animal welfare. For the purpose of this survey, I asked a series of pointed questions:

> "*Do you ever eat whale meat*?" "*Do you ever eat dolphin meat*?" And to both of these questions—*"If yes, why? If no, why not?"* "*Do you care about where your food and drink comes from? Do you check*?" Finally, I asked each student: "*When you visit the zoo or the aquarium do you ever think about the living conditions, the care and safety of the animals/fish there*?"

According to the results of my survey, seven out of eight of my Japanese students answered *yes* to the question about eating whale meat. I will cite a few of the responses: "Yes, I ate it at junior high school." Another said, "Yes. Whale meat is served for lunch in my primary school." And again, "Yes. I like sushi of its. And, whale meat is the traditional Japanese food." But as far as eating dolphin meat not one Japanese student answered *yes* to having eaten it. However, all of their responses to the "why" part of the equation were interesting to note: "No, because it wasn't sold." Another student wrote, "I have never eaten dolphin meat. I want to eat." And another wrote, "No, I don't ever have a chance to eat it." All the students' responses were similar in that if dolphin meat were available, they would at least like to give it a try. It is highly likely that they have already consumed dolphin meat, but just didn't know it, as *The Cove* shows that, when several samples of store bought labeled 'whale meat' are genetically analyzed, they are in fact bottlenose dolphin meat (Psihoyos, *The Cove*, 2009).

My seven international students, from Indonesia, Mainland China, South Korea, Germany, Afghanistan respectively, gave responses to the questions about consuming whale and dolphin meat, they all answered *no* to both questions. Some of the responses to eating whale meat were as follows: "No, didn't get a chance, but even I could, I won't. We got enough meat to eat. Why whale?" Another student wrote, "No, because it's not common and I think the animals are not treated nice." And another student wrote, "No, and I would never do it. Whales are to rare to eat." The responses were all quite similar in tone and feeling. As to the question about dolphin meat, a student wrote, "No, they are very

cute to be eaten." And another student wrote, "No, I do not have information about dolphin food."

As to the question about checking where your food and drink comes from, a majority of the students mentioned *yes* that they do check and care about it. One foreign student wrote, "Here in Japan I check whether my food comes from Tohoku [northern Japan] or not. Although it is said, it's okay (to eat), I do not want to buy it, when there is a choice." Another foreign student wrote, "Yes, I care, because you know, Japan got a little problem with nuclear radiation, but, no, I don't check." One Japanese student wrote, "I take care about chicken meat if from some of the countries where there are sicknesses like influenza and else." And another Japanese student wrote, "No, because I thought (think) foods and drink which are sold in Japan are reliable."

The final question about zoos, aquariums and animal welfare received the most detailed remarks by all participants in the survey. I would like to share two responses. One foreign student wrote: "Yes, there was one time I went to the zoo. I saw many animals, like peacocks and tigers. But the peacocks lost their beautiful feathers and tiger looked lonely and upset. They were in the small cage. Looked sad. They were not free." And a Japanese student wrote, "I don't think about them at all, because I just enjoy watching them. If I visit the zoo or aquarium, I will think about the living conditions, the care and safety, because I learned about them by taking this class."

Final Remarks

For the Chinese, and specifically through the Tibetan people's call to action, the ability to rise to the defense of the sacred Tibetan antelope and to that of the environment of the greater Tibetan plateau is just one strong indication that indeed the people of this nation will strive relentlessly to bring change to forms, customs and practices that in the long run serve to only harm nature and ultimately themselves. For the many environmental problems that China faces today and will face in its future, may the example of the potential extinction of the Tibetan antelope, and the subsequent resolution thereof, stand as a reminder of how an informed populace can truly bring about positive change. I am hopeful that

sound education will help resolve this other horrid tradition, right here in Japan, of indiscriminate whaling and dolphin slaughter. It has already taken too much time to put this to rest, but we must not forget, that the Japanese people, immensely proud of their country and reticent in the face of change, will never back down when their *tradition* is on the line.

> "*Yonder Sky that has wept tears of compassion upon my people for centuries untold, and which to us appears changeless and eternal, may change. Today is fair. Tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never change*." (Chief Seathl, 1854)

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